THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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ALEXANDRA PALACE SENSATION.

Meeting in a Military Camp. Mrs. Walker Arrested by the Military.

THE British wives of interned aliens are distressed because their husbands, whom they thought would be released when the Armistice was signed, are still interned, and are it is said now, so far from being released, to be removed to Frimley.

The conditions at Frimley are said to be very bad. Moreover, the fare there is costly enough to prevent women, existing with difficulty on the miserable allowances doled out to them, from visiting their husbands.

As soon as the women heard of the projected removal they began to protest, and last week a notice was posted in the part of the camp where visitors go, stating that the men were not going to be sent to Frimley, but still it was believed that they were going, and on Saturday, May 24th, the women were at the Home Office protesting. They received no satisfaction.

On Monday they were at the camp visiting their husbands. Some of them had approached the Workers' Socialist Federation, asking for advice and support, and Mrs. Walker, W.S.F., agreed to go to the camp to discuss the matter.

On arriving there with one of the wives, she was asked who she was. She said "A friend," and, after some demur, she was allowed to pass the barrier, a slip of paper being handed to her to give to the next official. Mrs. Walker did not read what was written on the slip of paper, and, therefore, did not know what it was till a later stage.

She found that several hundred women had congregated in the theatre with the men they had come to see. She discussed the position with those of the women she knew, who were anxious that all those present should lay their views before the Commandant. Mrs. Walker could see no way of arranging this except by addressing the assembled women. She therefore jumped on a chair and called for silence.

The German band stopped, all was quiet, you could have heard a pin drop.

"British women," said Mrs. Walker, "the war is over; your husbands should not be kept in prison; they should be released to return to their homes and you. They must not be taken away to Frimley. Let us pass a resolution demanding their release and take it to the Commandant." She spoke for half an hour; the women wept and cheered her. The resolution was, of course, carried unanimously.

Mrs. Walker stepped down from her chair, prepared to go with the women to the Commandant. Then suddenly she found herself surrounded by soldiers.

"Will you take me to the Commandant?" she asked the Sergeant.

"That is exactly where I am taking you!" he replied.

"Oh!" said Mrs. Walker "I am to have an escort."

The women realised that she was under arrest. They pressed closer, their voices rising in excitement, indignation, and dismay.

Presently some officers appeared; they shouted at Mrs. Walker "How dare you do it?" "What do you mean by it? you have come in here under false pretences!"

"No," said Mrs. Walker, at last getting a word in edgways, "I did not come in here under false pretences, I came in here as a friend."

"You did come in under false pretensions: you came in as that woman's daughter," one of the officers insisted; "the paper says so."

"I came in here as a friend, and you were standing by," said Mrs. Walker. "How could I come in as her daughter, when anyone can see I am very much older than she is. If I'd wanted to deceive, I should have said I was her mother."

"You've let yourself in for something, making speeches in a military camp!"

The two culprits were led into a room away from the other woman. Then, again, Mrs. Walker was scolded and questioned.

Presently it was decided to summon the Commandant. He came; an old man with white hair, and, at his approach, all the others grew stiff as pokers. "They're all afraid of each other, you know," said Mrs. Walker, aptly summing up the military régime.

"Er, er," said the Commandant. "Where are these women? Which is the one who's got the German husband? Oh! you. You've brought this woman here under false pretences?"

'No; I haven't," the young woman answered.

"Allow me to explain," said Mrs. Walker.

"I don't want to have anything to do with you; coming here making speeches!"

Military dignity had indeed been grievously ruffled by the incident. But in the end he had to go to Mrs. Walker for an explanation; he was so anxious to hear what she had to say for herself and to scold her for what she had done.

So Mrs. Walker told him she wanted to speak to the women. She could not talk individually to so many women—

"So you went on the stage!" he interrupted, boiling with anger.

"Oh! no," said Mrs. Walker; "I only got on a chair.

When he stormed at her she said: "Oh! well, then, I cannot tell you." She was not at all impressed when he protested:

"You know you've been getting us into very serious trouble." Finally he said: "They are going on Friday to Frimley, and I'll see you off the premises."

He marched Mrs. Walker out at the opposite end of the camp, in order that she might not again meet the women, but she had previously arranged to meet them at the House of Commons on May 28th.

The women in a petition to the Home Secretary say:

"If it is your policy to wear our husbands out by attrition and thus indirectly force them to go, have the courage to say so clearly, and we gladly will persuade them to prepare for departure now, before they have been driven mad. It is only at our and our children's instance that our husbands have borne and are bearing the indignities and humiliations which are involved in not having, as yet, taken the course of repatriation....family ties and difficulties and the sacred obligations toward old and infirm parents who could not follow us to the continent....such are in fact often reasons for our husbands deferring their departure, and bearing the unprecedented iniquity of this continuous internment."

This picture is reproduced from a United States official photograph released by the Historical Branch War Plans Division, General Staff. Prints are on sale at the Photographic Section, Signal Corps 18th, and Virginia Avenue, N. W. Washington, D.C. It is one of a series of photographs taken by Captain H. P. Kingsmore, S.C., U.S.A., official photographer with the American expeditionary forces in Siberia. Captain Kingsmore supplies the following description:—Thousands of captured Bolsheviki complicate conditions in Siberia, Ufa, Perm, and Ekaterinburg, Russia, where the Czecho-Slovaks and the new All-Russian Army confront the Red Army, present scenes of great activity. Daily *hundreds of Bolshevik prisoners are captured* and sent back of the lines *to be executed* or to be put *into temporary jails*. Under heavy guard thousands of these prisoners are assembled in abandoned buildings and each day sent out in work parties. The problem of feeding these prisoners is a grave one. I have seen great numbers of Bolsheviki under guard, and sheltered only by a shed, waiting for hours to be taken to prison. The entrances to all prisons are crowded with women, wives, sweethearts, and friends of prisoners, who carry food to the inmates. Captain Kingsmore's explanation of this picture runs:—Captured ringleaders of the Tomsk Government. Bolshevik Government heads who were imprisoned by the Czechs at *Ekaterinburg*, Russia. Left to right are shown the Secretary, who promoted Bolshevik propaganda, the Town Commissar, and the Chief Justice. The girl stenographer is also shown. They were *executed twenty-four hours after* this picture was taken. Captain Kingswood explains that prisoners are often kept for hours in the open with the temperature *40 degrees below zero*.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

LIGHT BINDING.

HOW TO ESTABLISH COMMUNISM. By Bukharin (Russian People's Commissary.)

"By what means is the communist world order to be established? How are we to attain it?"

The answer of the Communist Party to these questions is: "Through the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"Dictatorship" means a power as strong as iron, a power which gives no quarter to its enemies. "The dictatorship of the proletariat" means the government of the working class which abolishes the landowners and capitalists.

A workers' government can only be produced by a social revolution of the working class; a revolution which will destroy the capitalist state and erect on its ruins a new power: the power of the working class and the poor peasants who support the workers' government.

We Communists therefore stand for a workers' government until the workers have gained complete control over their adversaries; until they have remodelled the entire employing class and knocked out its pride, and until the employing class itself has given up all hope of ever again coming into power.

Of course, it will be said: "Then you Communists are believers in force?"

We shall answer: Most certainly; but our belief is in revolutionary force. We are convinced that by soft words the working class will gain nothing from the capitalists. No good will come of the conciliation advocated by the Mensheviki and Social Revolutionaries. Nothing short of a revolution, which will overthrow capitalism and destroy the bourgeois state, can liberate the working class.

Every revolution means using force against the former government. Force was used against the tyrannical landlords and Czar in the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, and in the Revolution of November, 1917, force was used against the capitalists by the workers, peasants, and soldiery. Such force—the use of force against those who are oppressing millions of workers—is not merely free from evil: it is sacred.

Moreover, the working class is obliged to use its power against the capitalists even after capitalism has been openly overthrown by the revolution, for even after the workers have destroyed the capitalist state, the capitalist class still exists. Its members by no means disappear all at once. On the contrary, they still hope for the return of the old régime and are prepared to make any kind of alliance against the victorious workers.

The experiences of the Russian Revolution furnish convincing proof of this. In October, 1917, the workers eliminated the capitalist class from all share in the Government, but the capitalists did not throw up the sponge; they agitated against the workers, mustering all their forces, and using every means to overthrow the workers' government and recapture power. They organised sabotage, procured a counter-revolutionary strike of government officials, and employees; they mobilised the troops of Dutov, Kaledin, Kornilov, Semenov, and called for help to the armies of foreign capitalism in Germany, Japan, and elsewhere. Thus the Russian experiences have proved that even after what seems a decisive victory the workers' government is forced to resist attack by powerful enemies from abroad who stretch out helping hands to the fallen capitalists at home.

A thoughtful survey of the position reveals to us that Russia is the only country in which the proletariat has yet overthrown the bourgeois state. The rest of the world is still possessed by the capitalist exploiters. Soviet Russia, with her workers' and peasants' government, is like a tiny island in the stormy ocean of capitalism. Should the victory of the Russian workers be followed by the victory of the German and Austrian workers, there would still remain the other great robber states of capitalism. Should the entire capitalism of Europe give way under the hammer strokes of the working class, there would still remain the capitalism of Asia, headed by Japan, and the capitalism of America.

These capitalist states will not surrender their position without a struggle. They will fight desperately in order to prevent the proletariat from securing world power. The greater the onrush of the proletariat the more precarious becomes the position of capitalism, the more must it strain every muscle in its fight against the workers.

When the proletariat has been victorious in one, two, or three countries it will come into unavoidable collision with the capitalist world still remaining, which will endeavour to crush, with blood and iron, the attempt of the workers to liberate themselves. Therefore, even after the Revolution, we must understand, that there will be, in some countries, an interim period between capitalism and communism, in which the workers will be faced by a hard struggle against their enemies both at home and abroad.

For this struggle it is necessary to have a rigid, widespread, and firmly-welded organisation completely equipped for the struggle. The Proletarian State, the Workers' Government, provides this organisation. Like every other State that of the working class is an organisation of the ruling class. In this case the ruling class is the working class, and its organisation is at once a defence against capitalism and the means which will finally destroy it.

Those who shrink from the establishment of such a power are not really revolutionaries. The assumption that every kind of power must be vicious is arrant nonsense. The power used by the rich, against the power by the capitalists against the workers, has for its object the maintenance of the predatory capitalist system. The power used by the workers against the capitalists has the opposite aim of liberating millions of workers from the yoke of capitalism, and the freeing of humanity from annexationist wars, which entail the savage pillage and destruction of works and collections on which the human race had been engaged for thousands of years. The rigid mechanism of the proletarian dictatorship is essential for the success of the Revolution and to secure the period of establishing the Communist social order.

It is clear that in this period of transition, the working class must strain every nerve in the struggle with its many adversaries, and that the only organisation through which it can attain to victory is one in which the workers and the poor peasants are banded together. Could this organisation resist the attacks of foreign imperialists without having control of the home government and army? Certainly not. . .

How will it be possible to force the capitalists to submit to government by the workers and to all sorts of confiscations unless the working class is in possession of the means to force the rich to do their duty? . . .

Again, it must be emphasised that it is the peculiarities of the transition period which necessitate dictatorship.

Members of the employing class have been for so long accustomed to live in idleness exploiting the workers, that even after capitalism has been overthrown in every country, they will endeavour to evade work and to injure the working class. They will have to be forced to serve the people and force will at first be necessary.

In backward countries, of which Russia is one, there are still many small proprietors, contractors, usurers, and other plagues, all of whom are opposed to the poor peasantry and are even more opposed to the industrial workers. These little profiteers range themselves on the side of the big capitalists and ex-landlords, and they must be restrained by the workers and poor peasants whenever they act in a counter-revolutionary spirit.

The workers must establish a system for organising the business concerns which have been taken over from the manufacturers; they must see to the transport of the crops produced by the peasantry; and secure a fair distribution of corn, manufactured goods, agricultural implements and machinery.

However, the small usurer and war profiteer may refuse to serve the community and may say: "I am my own master." The workers and poor peasants must force him to obey, and they must coerce in the same way the big capitalists and the former landowners, generals, and officers.

The more perilous the position of the workers' revolution, the greater the number of its enemies; the more firm must be the revolutionary rule of the workers and of the poor peasants, the more energetic the dictatorship. The power in the hands of the workers is the axe which they must hold in readiness against the attacks of the capitalist class. In the communistic social order, when the capitalists will exist no more and all class distinctions will have disappeared, when there will be no more peril from within or from without—then there will be no more necessity for this axe. But we are in the period of transition now, when the enemies around us are showing their teeth and are ready to drown in blood the whole working class movement. To prove this one need but recall the shooting of the workers in Finland and at Kiev, and the wholesale shootings of workers and peasants in the Ukraine and in Lettland. In this period only those who are wholly ignorant of the situation can wish to act without the indispensable weapon of state power.

A hue and cry is raised against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat from two sides. On the one side from the Anarchists, for they are against any kind of government and, consequently, also against the Government of the Workers and Peasants. To them we can only say: "Go into a nunnery, if you are against putting into the hands of the workers the means to coerce the bourgeoisie!"

On the other side the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is attacked by the Mensheviki and the Social Revolutionaries. Though formerly they used to advocate it, they are, so they say, against the interference with the privileges and the liberty of the bourgeoisie. They are of opinion that the workers are not yet "ripe" for a dictatorship. We can only say to them: "Why do you not join the capitalist class which you love so much and which you are trying to protect?" They do not wish to because they would have to own that they are in opposition to the workers and poor peasants.

It is just because the Communist Party stands for the iron dictatorship of the workers over the capitalists, the usurers, the former landowners, and other lovely products of the old bourgeois régime, that it is the most radical, the most revolutionary of all the existing groups and parties. "Through the inexorably firm government of the Workers, to Communism" is the watchword of our party. And the programme of our party is the programme of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

THE LATEST!

On the occasion of the King's visit to Sheffield, the house of Mr. Carford, Secretary of the local W.S.F., and the B.S.P. rooms were raided by twenty-one detectives from Scotland Yard and Sheffield. They produced no warrant to search Mr. Carford's house, telling him that they had received information that a plot was likely to be hatched that morning. They took three large boxes of literature, books and correspondence, valued at £50, away in a cab.

A TURKISH PROTEST.

The Ottoman League has telegraphed Jean Longuet asking him to inform the International Commission established by the Berne Conference that the Turks and Arabs will use every means to fight against the Imperialist decisions of the Allied Peace Conference.

THE JUNE

PLEBS

(A JOURNAL OF INDEPENDENT WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.)

Contains reviews of H. Cahn's **Collapse of Capitalism**, Lenin's **Chief Task of Our Times**, G. O'Brien's **Economic History of Ireland in 18th Century**, Upton Sinclair's **Profits of Religion**, and notes on other books, correspondence, announcements, &c., &c., of interest to working-class students. MONTHLY 2½d. (post paid). From Sec., **Plebs League, 176 Springvale Road, Sheffield**, or from **all Labour bookstalls**.

THE WILSON BUBBLE.

The resignation of the American staff at the Peace Conference must surely now dispel from the minds of all intelligent persons the last traces of belief in the imaginary President Wilson, who was supposed to be the Archangel of Peace and Democracy. The real Wilson, as we have declared from the first, is just like any other capitalist politician, who has chosen politics as a career; the mere puppet of the capitalist interests which gave him power.

Bullitt, in his letter of resignation, accuses Wilson of consenting "to deliver the suffering peoples of the world to new oppressions, subjections and dismemberments—to a new century of war." But even now, as though the white light of reality were too painful to be safe and tolerable, Bullitt still draws a veil around the shattered idol, in whom, he says, he trusted "confidently and implicitly," hiding him still a little from full view that the world may not know how comparatively paltry a man made great by the press may really be. He assumes that Wilson only yielded to the violation of his fourteen points under great pressure. Wilson's struggle with the Allied confederates no one has seen: his public statements give no hint of it. Bullitt, therefore, assumes it took place "behind closed doors."

But for Bullitt the bubble is burst beyond repair; his awakening has no doubt been facilitated by the passing of the war fever and the war frailties from which, with so many others, he doubtless suffered; the coercion of opinion by government-encouraged mob violence sweeps many converts into its net. He says: "I am sorry you did not fight our fight to a finish, and that you have had so little faith in the millions of men like myself in every nation who had faith in you."

And now Bullitt, since you have wakened from your dream of the Wilson saviour, will you, and the millions of others like you, who idolised him, abandon the easy, spurious philosophy which has enabled you to be all things to all men; to find favour and ease of conscience by sympathising with the Socialist Rebel and the Conscientious Objector, without joining them in the valley of persecution and suffering, and without breaking off your pleasant relationship with the capitalist class? Will you now, at last, face the question that the capitalist system is the root cause of war and oppression, and that no one, however great and good the press may call him, can end war and oppression whilst capitalism controls the world?

And you, too, Labour leaders who forgot the struggle of the workers with the master class; you Socialist publicists who forgot your Socialist economics, and cast the Wilson mirage across the vision of the exploited workers groping towards class consciousness; you who expressed impatient contempt for the masses, insisting that the hope of a World Peace could only rest on some educated member of the privileged classes who has climbed to place and power? What will you do now that the bubble which swelled to such enormous proportions, the bubble you helped to blow, has burst and the murderous strife it was masking is nakedly revealed?

Bullitt urges that it is the duty of the United States Government to refuse to sign or ratify this unjust Treaty; to guarantee its settlements by entering the League of Nations; to refuse to entangle the United States further, by an understanding with France.

Undoubtedly there are many American Parties, which, for one reason or other, agree with this demand of Bullitt, and it is possible that a combination of various forces may conceivably secure the rejection by Congress, of the Peace Treaty and League of Nations' Covenant. But Wilson is a skilful politician. Therefore, we think that Wilson has guaged the political currents in America, and has set his course according to them. The fallacy that Capitalist America is a democratic country, dies hard, but the truth is, that Capitalist Finance is still in command there as it is here. Therefore America will probably sign the Peace Treaty, or even if she refuses, will make no effective protest against its terms till her workers rise to join the Social Revolution.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

BONAR LAW & THE MINERS' RESOLUTION.

Bonar Law's reply to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, which waited upon him to urge the abolition of conscription, the release of C.O.s and the withdrawal of British Troops from Russia, seems to have been something very like "mind your own business." According to *The Times*, he held out no hope of the miners' demands being carried out.

What will the miners, the triple alliance, and the other industrial organisations do now? Will they use their overwhelming industrial power, or will they accept a humiliating defeat, and seek to hide the fact that they are retiring like frightened curs by making defiant speeches reminiscent of the barking of dogs that fear to bite?

A WOMEN'S STRIKE.
STARVING EUROPE.
A PROTEST AGAINST THE STARVATION OF EUROPE.

Whilst the Allies talk of feeding Germany they take 25 per cent of her cattle, including 140,000 milch cows, though the death of children from lack of milk has become a word-wide scandal. This is the treatment accorded to Germany who made peace with us on the basis of Wilson's fourteen points. Can we expect any kindlier treatment will be meted out to Soviet Russia should the Allied capitalists succeed in conquering her? Miss F. Haughton of 4 Station Road, Winchmore Hill, has approached us, urging that women should make an emphatic protest against the Allied starvation policy. She appeals to women to join in a one day's hunger strike on the day set apart for the Government for rejoicing over the Peace. We agree with Miss Haughton that the Peace Terms of the Allied capiatlists are not peace terms, but terms of war, and we appeal to all workers to demonstrate against them in the most effective way open to them. Black flags for mourning and red flags for revolution are the only flags that should be shown that day. We agree with Miss Haughton that even a hunger strike, though merely a demonstration of solidarity with our comrades in Russia and Germany, who are being starved by the capitalist blockade, is better than no strike at all. If the women at home will do a hunger strike perhaps the industrial workers will be stimulated to withdraw their Labour.

THE PRINCE OF WALES; WILL HE GET OFF OUR BACKS?

Events in Russia and Hungary have impressed the House of Windsor: the British throne shall not be lost if tact can save it!

When the Royal family visited Kennington, the Prince of Wales' own property, this looked so dilapidated, that the Lambeth Borough Council was ashamed for Royal eyes to behold it, and insisted that curtains should be hung to the windows of the empty houses to make the road look more cheerful. The Prince of Wales has now met the Lambeth Labour Party and has promised to improve his property; he has agreed to the Labour Party's suggestion that the Party shall collaborate with his officials, but he carefully made it clear that the collaboration is to be merely advisory, and he shrewdly observed that he is getting less in rent from the property than was drawn from it by his father and grandfather. Evidently the Prince is not altogether blind to the question of £ s. d.

The Lambeth Labour Party was very moderate in its demands: it asked that the new houses should have baths; that their parlours should be not less than 12 ft. by 12 ft. 6 in., that their rents should not be more than 10*s.* 3*d.* a month.

The President of the Lambeth Labour Party said he was sure that the Royal family knew little of how the people live, but are anxious to do the best for the British people and especially for those on the Duchy of Cornwall estate. But £50,000 a year is drawn from those wretched houses in Kennington! Even were the houses in good condition, it would be immoral for one young man to draw so large a sum for merely being the hereditary owner of the soil. If the Prince of Wales wishes to help the people of Kennington let him get off their backs. He is young enough to learn to work for his living.

YORKSHIRE MINERS ACT.

The expulsion of J. Walton, M.P., from the Yorkshire Miners' Association by a vote of 10 to 1 because its members have grown to regard him as a dangerous reactionary, whose actions are detrimental to the Association, has sounded a new note in Labour Politics. It will arouse consternation in the ranks of "Labour" Ministers and National Executives.

"Who refused strike pay? Who dismissed the district committees? Who talked of industrial peace and repudiated strikes? Who made common cause with Capitalist Governments? Who denounced Bolshevism?" These are the cries that come hurrying with it in the wind that foretells the Workers' Revolution, for this decision of the Yorkshire miners means nothing less than that the workers are beginning, at last, to rise up against the bureaucrats who have sold them: the rank and file are beginning at last to manage their own affairs.

THE SOLDIERS' GRIEVANCE.

Private William Simmonds, of Reigate, who, having been discharged from the Army with epilepsy, frozen feet and shell shock, was refused both Army pension and unemployment benefit. He drifted to the casual ward and was brought before the Torrington Board of Guardians. Colonel Moore Stevens, the chairman, declared that both the Insurance and Pensions authorities were to blame and that the man would get a pension. There are many such cases. Something is done when a sensation is created, but that is too late and too uncertain.

It is not surprising that the discharged and unemployed soldiers should have thrown paving blocks at the House of Commons.

But let their policy be constructive; it is useless to complain that flappers are employed; flappers must live like themselves.

When capitalism is overthrown and the Soviets are established, there will be an equal chance for all. That is the task in which soldiers and workers should co-operate.

FOOD TO COST MORE.

The Times observes: "there is actually a threat that next winter prices may be higher than ever." "The upward move" we are told "will come chiefly from internal competition to obtain available supplies." Bacon, we are told, may soon cost 3*s.* 6*d.* per lb. The price of lard "will bear little relation to the cost of production and will rise to the highest level that Europe can pay. The price of butter is not expected to fall, that of margarine is expected to rise. Next winter milk may cost 10*d.* per quart or more in the towns. Meat will grow dearer. So the profiteers are to make another harvest out of the people and shortage of work will make it harder than ever for the workers to force their wages up in conjunction with the rise in the cost of living. And yet people are prepared to go on with the old capitalist system to which all this profiteering belongs! Things will never be right till we have a revolution!

EYEWASH!

"The Ministry of Food was established, and from the very first its success was due to the fact that the consumers' interests rather than those of any one else were the main consideration."—From *The Labour Party News Service.*

BOLSHEVIST EDUCATION.

At Budapest, under the Soviet Government (according to a Reuter message) a Workers' University has been opened. It is not a University for the sons of wealthy people, and the Soviet Government is applying the principle of maintenance for those students taking certain courses study. These students will be relieved of all productive work, and will receive during their period of training pay according to the wages they receive while at work. The rule applies principally to those taking a course of administration at the University. In this the Soviet Government is acting wisely: for the chief difficulty they have encountered is to find a sufficient number of civil administrators, sympathetic to the revolution, to take the place of the bureaucrats whom the revolution has evicted.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE PEACE TERMS.

" By signing the Peace Treaty Germany could give the workers in the Entente countries an effective weapon for energetic action in Germany's favour : it would be regarded as the best proof that people in Germany really had made a radical breach with the past and were resolved sincerely to work for the reconstruction of the world."

Thus spoke Arthur Henderson, to an agent of the Wolf Telegraphic Bureau, during his visit to Amsterdam. The Labour Party has given the words an official sanction by embodying them in its press bulletin. Ramsay MacDonald also publicly expressed himself on the peace question during his stay at Amsterdam and the following account of his words was also circularised by the Labour Party in its official bulletin :—

" In an interview with a correspondent of the *Vossiche Zeitung*, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said that feeling among the British people was still strongly anti-German, and they regarded themselves as the victors who would like to harvest the fruit of their victory. Mr. Macdonald added that the blockade would certainly remain in force should Germany refuse to sign the peace treaty. In another interview with a Dutch journalist, Mr. Macdonald replying to a question about his attitude to Bolshevism, said : 'I am very much against the third International at Moscow, in so far as it is socialistic the present International is sufficient, and in so far as it is not socialistic we have nothing to do with it.' "

As to MacDonald's repudiation of the Moscow International, it is interesting to notice that the Italian Socialist Party and the Norwegian Socialist Parties have seceded from the Second International, which met at Berne, and have joined the Third or Moscow International. The Swiss Socialist Party has seceded from the Second International and its joining the Third International seems to be pending. Bolshevism will shortly number in its ranks all who still make even a show of working for Socialism, where will Mr. MacDonald be then ?

But to return to the Peace Terms, these utterances of Henderson and MacDonald were made before the summary of the Peace Treaty was published, though the press had informed the world of its drift, and surely such hangers about Cabinet Ministers and diplomatists, as Henderson and MacDonald must have had some inside information about it.

Now that the Peace Terms are out the Labour Party is officially very reticent concerning them. Is it waiting to know how the wind is blowing in the constituencies and in the Labour organisations ? The Party's Press Bureau has published the following very cautious utterance by Mr. Henderson :—

" Labour....protested against forced annexations or punitive indemnities, though they demanded adequate reparation and compensation."

That, in other words, is what Lloyd George and Clemenceau say ; annexations they claim as reparation, and indemnities as compensation.

Here and there Mr. Henderson shows a tendency, only a tendency, to express a definite opinion :—

" It must be admitted that neither the policy of President Wilson, nor that of British Labour has yet triumphed. In some essentials the peace treaty is a violation of the principles proclaimed and does not conform to the working-class conception of justice and right....We believe that the failure to give Germany a place in the League of Nations vitally weakens the whole peace structure. Such exclusion provides her and any other nation excluded with an excuse for practising the old diplomacy, by seeking to destroy the new found unity of Europe, and creates obstacles to the establishment of an International standard of Labour conditions. We trust that even now it may be possible to make the League of Nations inclusive of all free peace-loving democracies.

" There are those who console themselves with the thought that the treatment of Germany and the peace proposals is decidedly better than what they would have given had they been the victors. Remembering Brest-Litovsk, which was a disgraceful peace which British labour strongly condemned, I do not challenge this statement. I am ready to admit that it may be a much better peace than Germany might have given ; what to me is more important is ; does it conform to the conditions proposed before the cessation of hostilities ? Does it honestly give effect to the conditions of the Armistice ? Have the authors of these proposals had sufficient regard to the future ? If we apply these tests, the Paris peace in my opinion fails because it is, in some respects, a peace of violence and conquest. Some sections of the German people are denied the right of self-determination. In Posen, in East Prussia, in Silesia, and in the Saar Valley, large sections are transferred to an alien rule and hostile race. The German colonies are distributed amongst the Allies and Germany is denied a single mandate under the League of Nations. On other territorial questions, on reparation, and on armaments, the terms do not make either a just or lasting peace. Whoever has triumphed in Paris it is not President Wilson."

Mr. Henderson says that the Brest-Litovsk Peace was a disgraceful peace ; a peace that proves to us that the peace of the Allies is a better peace than Germany would have imposed. But does Mr. Henderson realise that, in addition to the war which they themselves are making on Russia, the Allies are enforcing the Brest Peace against her as far as they are able ? The money which the Germans wrung from Russia at Brest-Litovsk the Allies have taken ; according to the Italian paper *La Stampa* it is now in Paris.

Both the Armistice Terms and the Peace Terms have insisted that German troops occupying Russian territory must remain there at the disposal of the Allies.

But has Mr. Henderson read the summary of the Peace Terms ? Under the Brest-Litovsk Peace the Germans robbed Russia of some money and some territory and left her internal affairs alone ; but the Allies, in addition to taking from Germany money and territory, are dominating the whole of Germany, her railways and waterways, her posts and telegraphs. The Allies by their Treaty have even given themselves the power to regulate German taxation !

But press correspondents, notably in *The Daily News*, are beginning to reveal the fact that the actual Peace Treaty is harsher even than the published summary ; that whilst, for instance, Danzig is called a free city, Germans who reside there a year will lose their nationality, but other peoples can continue there indefinitely without doing so.

Most serious of all, most hideously undemocratic, Germany is ordered to agree *" to pass all legislation proposed by the Allied and Associated Governments."*

Under this clause, if Germany sign it and adhere to it, the German people, whether they decide for Parliament or the Soviets, can be robbed of all shadow of self-government. They can be made to select the form of legislature dictated by the Allies and that legislature can be made to obey, not the people it is supposed to represent, but the Allied dictatorship.

The Labour Party has made no pronouncement upon these tyrannical projects. Mr. Henderson and Mr. MacDonald, at times so voluble, seem to have nothing to say !

The German workers are appealing to the workers of the Allied countries against the Peace Treaty. The Executive of the German Trade Unions, in a Manifesto to organised Labour in all countries, points out that the indemnity demands will render the German workers the wage slaves of capitalists for at least fifty years, and declares that the Peace Treaty is an international plot against Socialism and the Social Revolution.

Mr. Henderson and the other Labour Party leaders are not merely deaf to the appeals of their German comrades ; they are also unable to see that the Peace Treaty is a blow at Labour in the Allied countries. It is not Mr. Henderson, or Mr. Barnes, who is supposed to represent Labour at the Peace Conference, but Count Rantzau of the German Coalition Government, who is pointing out the flaws in the Treaty from the standpoint, not of Germany, but of International Labour. He says :—

" The Peace Draft also takes no consideration of the demands of the International Trade Union Conference at Berne in two essential directions—first, in regard to the representation of workers, for according to the Peace Draft the workers are conceded at any international conference only a fourth part of the votes ; and, secondly, in regard to the legal force of such conference's decisions.

" According to the Berne Conference, international laws can be passed by an international Parliament of workers having the same force as national laws. The German Government's draft accepts this decision, but makes its acceptance of such laws dependent on the agreement of four-fifths of the represented nations. The decisions of the Berne Conference have also not been taken into consideration in section 13 of the Peace Draft.

The German Delegation, therefore, repeats its proposal to summon a conference of the representatives of the national organisations of all trade unions during the peace negotiations, and, should this proposal again be rejected, at least a statement by the trade union leaders of all countries is requisite."—*Reuter.*

The questions raised by Rantzau throw into prominence the scandal that the Allied peoples have been hitherto prevented from seeing a draft of the actual Peace Terms.

The British Labour Party is making no urgent demand to see the Treaty. Has its Executive been permitted to read it on condition that it will not tell what is in it ?

All this is merely another reason for pressing on, on, on with the Revolution.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

POLITICAL COERCION IN NAVAL HOSPILAL.

The following interesting letter has reached us :—

DEAR EDITOR,—I thought it would be of interest to you to know of an incident which happened at the Naval Hospital, Devonport, while I was a patient there. One of the hospital officials came round and gave notice that all men that were able to walk were to present themselves at a table. While I was stood there with the crowd, this bully of a fellow stood up at the table with a large sheet of paper in his hand and read out to all present that any man in the hospital found with Bolshevik or Socialist literature, or was heard talking to any man in favour of Socialism or Bolshevism or if by word or action you are suspected of being a Bolshevik, your *will be very severely punished.* I cannot tell you all that he read out to us, I was so " fed up " with him and his order, but I have just outlined it to you to let you know how things are being served up to us in the Navy. The next day he came round in such a commanding style you would have thought he was one of the Russian royal family, just to try and make us afraid of him. My mother knowing my favourite papers were Socialist papers would send my brother in to me with THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT, but I had to tell him not to bring any more Socialist papers to me, and to take away the two papers I had hidden away on me before I was found out or I would be struck down to the level of the first day I entered the Navy, with imprisonment. I joined the Navy as a last resort after being out of employment for ten weeks. I shall be glad when I get my discharge from the Navy. I shall be like a bird let out of a cage. Hoping this will find you in the best of health, and wishing you everything you wish for yourself.—Yours respectfully,

THE RED FLAG AND FRENCH WARSHIPS.

Is the French navy moving towards Revolution ? Three warships in the Black Sea are said to have hoisted the red flag and refused to fire on the Soviet forces in the Ukraine on receiving a wireless appeal from the Russians not to do so. The red flag seems to have waved for some days, until it was agreed that the ships should return to France and an amnesty be granted to the mutineers.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LIMERICK SOVIET.

In the House of Commons on May 14th, Mr. Macpherson, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, said of the general strike in Limerick:—

"*Limerick was made a military area because of the brutal and dastardly murder of a man who was doing his duty. The reason why Limerick was made a military area was that Sinn Feiners and certain irresponsible members of the Labour Party attempted to curb the right of law-abiding citizens in that district by proclaiming a strike, not for an increase of wages, or any other legal reason, but simply and solely as an act of open defiance of a lawful decree of His Majesty's Government.*"

There is some contradiction here. Mr. Macpherson begins by saying that Limerick was made a military area because a policeman had been murdered. That would mean that an entire city was put under military coercion because one man had been killed; but Mr. Macpherson went on to add, most explicitly, that Limerick was made a military area because there was a strike.

What are the facts? The policeman to whom Mr. Macpherson refers, was killed on April 6th. The events which led to his death began some time before. The Limerick strike committee declare the story began when Robert Byrne, a Limerick Post Office employee attended the funeral of John Daly, a prominent worker for Irish freedom, and one of the victims of an exploded dynamite frame up charge, which occurred many years before. The funeral was regarded as a political event, and though Byrne was a relative of Daly's, the opinion of the strike committee is that he was a marked man from that day forth, it being a convention that civil servants should not take part in politics.

Eventually, Byrne was dismissed from the Post Office, and later, was arrested for being in possession of fire-arms, a revolver having been found in his mother's house. He was sentenced on February 1st, 1919, to twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour, and adopted the hunger strike in Limerick gaol. He was removed from the prison to Limerick Workhouse, where he was kept in charge of a warder and four policemen armed with revolvers.

On Sunday, April 6th, some of Byrne's friends came to the ward in which he lay. As they appeared at the door, one of the policemen told Byrne that if he attempted to get out of bed, he would shoot him. Byrne started up, and the policeman shot him in the breast, just below the left nipple; the bullet passed through the lung and stomach. As was proved at the inquest, his shirt was scorched a little, but there was no hole in it. The inference is, that the revolver was pressed close to him, his shirt being open.

Seeing him shot, Byrne's friends, who were unarmed, wrestled with the policemen, took their guns from them, and killed the policeman who had shot Byrne. Then they carried Byrne away to a house, where he died. From the first there was no hope of his recovery. The story of all this was made known at the inquest, and has appeared in the Irish Capitalist Press.

The policeman was killed on April 6th. On Saturday, April 12th, Limerick was made a Military area, and it was announced that permits would be necessary for entering the city. The Military Authorities arbitrarily took the River Shannon as the City's boundary, leaving a part of the city, which is known as Thomondgate, outside. Immediate trouble arose, because Cleave's factory, the largest works in Limerick, lay across the river. The majority of its employees, who lived within the military cordon, were expected to obtain permits to return home from work. Moreover, many people living in Thomondgate worked within the city, and were expected to obtain permits to go to work.

This division of the City, and the permits involved, were the immediate cause of the strike and the setting up of the Limerick Soviet. The permit was worded as follows:—

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

This Permit is granted to.....
(Style or title, Mr., Mrs., or Miss)
Surname in Capitals .....
Christian Names .....
Age.....
Occupation.....
Postal Address.....
Signature of Holder.....
Date of arrival in Limerick.....

Official Stamp.	Photograph or Description.

Height ft. ins.
Build
Hair (colour)
Eyes (colour)

This pass can only be used by a British subject ordinarily resident in Limerick.

This pass may at any time be revoked.

Issued by.....
Rank.....
Station .....
Date .....

CONDITIONS.

This Pass must be produced for inspection at any time if required to do so by any naval or military officer, sailor or soldier on duty, or police officer or constable, or any other authorised person.

Persons applying for permits were inspected by the local members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who are expected to have a knowledge of all citizens. If the policemen so advised the permit was refused. This was an indirect means of keeping people within the city boundary, as well as excluding them, for naturally no one living in Limerick, doubtful of getting a permit, dare leave home. Permits could be granted for one day only, so that people might be forced to apply daily.

Foreseeing that Cleave's big factory might prove a danger centre, the authorities on Saturday, April 12th, offered to go down there to supply the workers with permits for the coming week, the workers spontaneously refused the offer.

On Sunday night, April 13th, the general strike was announced.

The events which followed are so full of interest and instruction to the workers that we propose to deal with them at length in a subsequent issue.

(*To be Continued.*)

WOMEN WORKERS OF LIMERICK.

In a garret under the rafters a poor little wizened old soul is crouching on the floor amongst the filthy filling of ancient mattresses. The clotted hair, heavily impregnated with dirt, has lost its hairy character: it is broken up into clods of irregular size, which look as much like lumps of earth as of matted hair.

The old woman beats the clods with a stake of wood and the dust rises till we can scarcely see her. Having beaten some of the dust from the clod that is highest on the pile, she seizes it,, breaks it to pieces, and pulls the hair apart, tearing it with a quick motion of her fingers and thumbs, whilst the dust rises as thickly as before. When all the hairs have been separated, she tosses them into a fluffy heap, which grows beside her, and on to which fresh dust is of course continually falling.

Who could believe that so much dirt could be contained in any mattress?

Her hands are caked with filth, as though it were soil, and she a potato picker or other field worker; but this on her hands is not the good brown earth, but loathsome disease-breeding dirt. Her skin is yellowed and withered by age, and under-feeding, and the dirt she works in. Her eyes are sunken and dulled, the water oozes from them and glistens upon her cheeks. She has wrapped a sack half round her, either for warmth, or to protect her old clothing.

"To give ye a wage like that for it! It isn't fit for any one to be doing it," she cries in a passion of rage as she beats at the clots of hair, exclaiming at their filthiness, and tearing at them with bitter disgust.

"And what do they pay you, Molly?" someone asks her.

"A halfpenny a pound till about a month ago, and now, three farthings."

"Did they give you the bonus they talked of, Molly?"

"They did not. No bonus have I had!" The old voice mounts to a shriek of indignation. "For fifteen years have I worked at this, and no more than a halfpenny a pound did I ever get till the farthing rise about a month ago."

"What can you make by it?"

She is beating feverishly, and shouts at us, through her dust cloud, with an angry chuckle: "Oh, 8*s.* a week, anything like that—5*s.*, 4*s.*, 2*s.*, sometimes nothing, when they haven't the work for me to do!"

"Sure they might employ you about the place in dusting, when they haven't the mattresses for you; there is plenty of that needs doing."

With only a laugh she answers. With urgent haste she is working: she is a childless widow, wholly dependent upon her own exertions. Under the rafters is the hottest place in the summer, the coldest in the winter; there is no means of heating this wretched garret.

And where is this dismal garret, dirt hanging from the rafters, where this old sweated woman is crouching?

It is ——'s great store; a magnificent shop in Limerick. No one could guess from its smart exterior and show rooms that anything like old Molly's workshop existed in it!

The Transport Workers' Union has applied for an increase for poor old Molly. The management reply that it would pay them better to send the mattresses to be re-made by machinery in Dublin than to pay her more.

Down some steep steps, and round a corner or two, one comes to the upholstering workshop. Men were working there recently for 30*s.* a week, but they have now had an increase. An old woman, a gentle, industrious, highly skilled old woman, who has been employed there for 56 years is paid 14*s.* 10*d.* per week. She makes the mattress cases and pillows, covers the hoods of babies' perambulators, and does all the sewing connected with upholstery. The Transport Workers' Federation applied to have her wage increased to £1 a week: the firm offered an increase of only 2*s.* 6*d.*

There is no means of heating this workroom. In the winter time one of the women employed here found in a tiny garret adjoining that where old Molly works, a rude nitch connecting with the chimney, and usually covered by an iron screen. At some time it had been used as a fireplace, but it is forbidden to light fires there now, and no fuel is available. Nevertheless, last winter, when their hands grew so stiff with cold that they could not work, the women would gather together a few rags and waste clippings and burn them up there in the garret, holding their hands close to the fugitive blaze.

How is it that the factory inspectors allow the workers to be employed under such conditions? The workers say that they have never seen a woman inspector at the stores; their observations on the subject of the men inspectors were by no means complimentary.

Downstairs, round about and upstairs, quite a distance, brings one to the carpet workroom. Women are here stitching the strips of carpet together. It is very heavy work: the material

(Continued on page 1346.)

THE FINANCIAL ORGANISATION OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

PART I.

At the first Congress of the Northern District of Russia N. N. Krestinskyi, the People's Commissary for Finance, gave the following report on his four months' work, and outlined the financial plans of the Soviet Government.

Four months ago the old financial institutions were still maintained in the capitals. In the provinces were branches of those old institutions, the officials of which were in strained relation with the Soviet financial departments (Sovdiepy), and aimed at independence of the local Soviets and the maintenance of bureaucratic centralisation. At the same time there existed financial departments, which were striving to become the financial organs of the Soviet power in the various localities, but were frustrated in this ambition and obliged to continue as mere local organs of finance. Each of these local bodies acted independently and on its own responsibility, with the result that there was a motley and distressing state of confusion in local finance.

The central administration made every effort to put an end to this confusion, to settle the conflict which existed between the capitals and the provincial districts, and to consolidate the country into one Socialist unit.

The effort to centralise produced in certain cases a tendency toward bureaucracy. To deal with this problem the People's Commissariat for Finances prepared a decree on local finances which met the desires of the local bodies and workers concerned. This decree, however, did not provide for the establishment of provincial executive committees (gubispolkomy); nor did it bind the various commissariats to act through the provincial executive committees in all their financial operations. It was therefore necessary to amend the decree.

At the end of November, 1918, a decree on local financial departments was passed, and under it many of the old local financial organs were abolished and absorbed into the Soviet financial departments. By this decree the structure of the Soviet financial organs was definitely established.

The winding-up of the old financial organs, which is now taking place in various localities, is carried out painlessly, because the local Soviets no longer suspect the financial authorities, and are able to use the existing staffs of specialists, removing only the counter-revolutionary elements.

The reorganisation of financial machinery has reached also the Excise Department, which hitherto had jurisdiction over production and was performing also some trading functions. The decree on the organisation of supplies has transferred these functions to the Commissariat for National Supplies, as well as all Government wine stores. The book-keeping for the nationalised trade is partly conducted by the Commissariat for National Supplies, partly by the Commissariat for Finances.

With the introduction of this order excise taxes are abolished, but a certain surplus out of the sale of the commodities must go to the Treasury. The fixing of the amount by which selling prices and cost prices shall differ (the difference being used as State Revenue), as well as the control over the receipt of the revenue, is entrusted to the Commissariat of Finances. An analogous distribution of functions is carried out also in Petrograd and Moscow; but the local wine shops, which, during the war, had charge of the chemical products industry, are transferred to the Supreme Council of National Economy.

When the decree on financial administration was being considered a difference of opinion arose between the People's Commissary for Finance and the majority of the Supreme Council of National Economy. The former considered it impossible to deal with all financial questions from the capitals; the latter approved such centralisation, and removed from the draft decree all mention of district financial bodies. The problem has, nevertheless, been settled in favour of decentralisation. A Special Commission, after an exhaustive study, reported that the Urals, and the Northern and Western Districts, should retain their independence, their financial branches remaining and working directly under the People's Commissariat for Finance. In all probability it will be possible in the near future to issue a special decree on this question.

The work of uniting the Exchequer Courts and the Treasury Branches in the Northern Districts has just started, and a strong stimulus towards its successful completion will undoubtedly be provided by the achievements of this Congress. If the work cannot be finished by January 1st, we confidently hope that it will be terminated by the end of the month.

A great piece of organisation fell to the Commissariat for Finance in the field of banking. The State Bank was annexed by the Soviet Power as early as 1917. On December 14th of that year the All Russian Central Executive Committee issued a decree creating a national monopoly of banking and nationalising the private banks.

This decree deprived capitalism of its main stronghold, but much still remains to be done in the banking field. In the beginning we had no clear idea of what the structure of the Soviet People's Bank should be. Moreover, there still existed, side by side with it, private credit institutions, such as the Moscow People's Bank, Mutual Credit Associations, City Banks, as well as independent institutions for State savings and the Treasury Departments. During the first month, when as yet the economic life of the country had changed but little, our People's Bank continued on much the same lines as the former financial institutions. The accounting functions in respect of nationalised undertakings were slow in getting a start. There was a hitch in the work of nationalisation, due to the fact that owing to historic necessity some remains of private capital had to be retained so long as there was still private commerce.

WOMEN WORKERS OF LIMERICK.

Continued from page 1345.

is so hard their fingers are often bleeding. A piece of rope tied across the room helps them to support the weight of the carpet whilst they are stitching it. Old, worn and dirty carpets are often sent in to be made smaller, or to have new pieces inserted. Then the work is very unpleasant. One of the women working here has been a widow for ten years; her youngest child is 11, her eldest 15. She is paid 15*s*. She pays 6*s*. a week rent! Not long ago her wage paid was only 12*s*. and before that 8*s*. In response to an application from the Transport Workers' Union the firm has offered her £1 a week. She refuses to take the extra 5*s*. unless the other women get the same wage. Yet she has a terrible struggle to buy food for her children. "Something has to go," she says: "you must pay the rent and you must have clothes; so you can't get enough to eat." If Messrs. ——— would but adopt this woman's idea of fairplay and human solidarity, it would be the better for their employees! The women workers at ———'s have made up their minds to stand solidly together for an equal wage, for they have reached at a bound the position towards which the most advanced of the men's organisations are timidly fumbling. In a meeting at the Transport Workers' office the Union officials reported the offers of the firm to give this woman 5*s*., that 2*s*. 6*d*., the other a bonus of 1*s*. 6*d*., or no increase at all. The women unanimously rejected the terms: they wanted equality. The women who were offered 5*s*. a week said they were satisfied with the increase, but they were not satisfied with the refusal to give it to their work mates, and particularly they were indignant that the woman who had been 56 years with the firm should only be offered 2*s*. 6*d*. Those of the older women who had been offered 5*s*. protested that the younger women were equally entitled to it and asserted indeed that the young women were quicker than they. The Union officials suggested that they should ask for a 5*s*. increase all round; but the women rejected that: they wanted the wage of all workers to be brought up to £1 a week and would accept nothing else. It is indeed little enough to ask!

Adjoining the carpet room is the lace workroom where fine Limerick lace: "Limerick run" and "Limerick tambour," is made. Speed in lace making is only acquired after years of practice. Women who have been employed for five or six years (and not alone at lace making) are regarded at Messrs. ———'s as mere "learners." The speed of lace-makers varies a good deal. A young woman who is making a piece of Limerick run 15 inches square, which takes a week to make, gets 11*s*; another who is making a collar 21 by 23 inches gets 16*s*. 6*d*. for it. She hopes to finish it in a little more than a week. A handkerchief with a deep border, 13 inches square is paid for at 8*s*. 6*d*. The maker says it will take her a week to finish. Another woman says the handkerchief she is making will take her four days, she will be paid 5*s*. 9*d*. A girl who has been working five years at the trade hopes to finish a handkerchief in the early afternoon. She began it a week ago to-day, she will be paid 8*s*. for it. An old woman with spectacles is making Limerick tambour. She is embroidering a design on fine white net, under which is placed the pattern she must copy. But the pattern can hardly be seen; it is traced on a piece of old brownish material, and has almost faded away. No wonder she bends so close over it. An effort to find the pattern convinces us that she could not see it for all her striving but for the fact that she knows it very well!

The forewoman who gives out the work, keeps the accounts, mounts the lace on linen or cambric, and supervises the workroom is paid 27*s*. 6*d*. per week.

Messrs. ——— sell some of the lace made in their workroom in the shop below, the remainder they dispose of to wholesale dealers.

The lace that is made for a few shillings in ———'s workroom is very costly to buy at ———'s counter. Going down to the shop we asked to be shown some handkerchiefs: the cheapest in Limerick run produced to us was 18*s*. 6*d*. It was smaller and had less work in it than any we had seen in the workroom. We asked to see something better and were shown a handkerchief that was smaller and had less work in it than those being made upstairs for 8*s*. 6*d*.; the price was 27*s*. 6*d*.!

The lace is so dainty and fine: one is surprised to find the workroom very dirty. The boarded floor is swept from time to time; one cannot learn that it is ever scrubbed and this, unless it is to be polished, it badly needs. Dirty old boxes and furniture thickly covered with dust are piled up at one end of the workroom.

Still more surprising is the complete lack of washing facilities. There is no wash basin of any kind, though it is absolutely necessary for the hands of the workers to be clean, since the lace they make must be spotless and may not be washed before it is sold. To remedy the lack, the workers have provided themselves with a jam jar. Water they can obtain by two methods: either from the pan of the W.C., or by going downstairs and outside the building to a tap in the stable, a journey not always possible. In hot weather the workers often want a drink of water, but only by going down to the stable can they get water fit to drink. To make a cup of tea in the afternoon is impossible, as, except in winter, there is no means of heating the water. But cups of tea in the afternoon are unknown at ———'s; the workers were astonished when we suggested such a thing!

As we look in at the fine windows of ———'s stores we see, not the elegant furniture and the dainty laces, but poor old Molly in the dust cloud in the attic, and we wonder what the workers of Limerick will make of ———'s stores when the Soviet reigns permanently in Limerick.

Parliament As We See It.

May 19th.—Trade was opened with the occupied part of Germany on May 6th, Sir A. Geddes announced. The traders will probably be badly hit should Germany abide by her decision not to sign!

BRITISH CENSOR.

In reply to Mr. Spoor (Lab.) Mr. Harmsworth stated that "no copies of the *Social Democraten* dispatched from Denmark to the Faroe Islands, have been detained by the British Censor since January 1st, 1919." Previously, apparently, the *Social Democraten* was considered dangerous!

RELIEF.

Captain Guest maintained that as the Bolsheviki "have already employed gas on the Northern front," the British were going to retaliate with the same weapon. But who said that the Bolsheviki used gas; besides are not the forces in Northern Russia "relief forces"?

BOLSHEVIST PROPAGANDA.

Mr. Tillett (Lab.) advocated steps being taken "to prevent the use of the national postal machinery for Bolshevist propaganda"! Was there ever such a fall as that, fellow workers?

SHIPPING.

Colonel Wilson, on behalf of the Government, tried to put the best interpretation on the National Shipyard undertakings. Sir C. Henry (C.L.) maintained however that "the history of the national shipyards at Chepstow is one that will not reflect credit on any of those who were connected with it." That seems a fairly generous criticism from a man who knows.

THE WAR IN THE AIR.

May 20th.—Colonel Wedgwood (L.) questioned the necessity of the extensive buildings at Halton Camp, Aylesbury. Major-General Seeley stated in reply that the Camp was being used as a training centre for men and boys of the Air Service. And the Air Force in his opinion is not likely to be very greatly reduced "*in view of our commitments all over the world*"! Another result of being the Empire appointed to preserve the peace!

RED TERROR *v.* WHITE TERROR.

May 21st.—Since so many charges are made against the Bolsheviki on the one hand, and Koltchak, Denikin and the Finnish White Guards on the other, Lord Cavendish-Bentinck (C.U.) asked for a committee of inquiry to be appointed. Colonel Wedgwood (L.) suggested that a White Paper of the White Terror be issued on the lines of the White Paper on the Red Terror now being circulated. Mr. Harmsworth thought no useful purpose would be served by an inquiry. He knows, possibly that the truth would spoil the game of the interventionists!

AN OMISSION.

There is no regulation in international law, Mr. Bonar Law maintained, against the continuance of blockade after an armistice. Does it not rather seem that even the legal minds engaged in drawing up those laws, did not foresee such an atrocity?

SWEATING.

Sir F. Hall (C.U.) called on the Government to "protect British manufactures" when he heard of the great increase in imports from Japan. In the first four months of 1914 they valued £1,092,666; in a similar period in 1919 they equalled £7,210,055! No Labour member called for the protection of British Labour, though of course the only effective way of doing so is to protect world labour and abolish sweating.

THEORY AND PRACTICE.

Again Mr. Tillett (Lab.) agitated for the further punishment of the Bolshevists in this country. Sir H. Greenwood, on behalf of the Government, stated that: "*It is not a criminal offence in this country* to hold Communist views or to advocate *them by peaceable and constitutional methods.*" Then why this interminable seizure of pamphlets and type of which one hears? Is printing no longer either peaceable or constitutional?

CAPITAL LEVY.

The Finance Bill was debated on May 20th and 21st. Its rejection was moved, without avail, by Mr. Acland (C.L.) on the grounds "that it makes inadequate provision out of revenue for the expenditure of the country"; also that a capital levy would deal with the War Debt more fairly than the burden of taxation which was in contemplation. Mr. Chamberlain tried to turn into ridicule the idea of a capital levy. Mr. Pretyman tried to argue the case from the standpoint that if £250 is only equal to £120 at pre-war rates then the National Debt is only half the sum given and an income of £2,000 is worth no more than £1,000 in pre-war days. He quite overlooks the facts that the £1 has decreased in value more as regards necessities of life. Therefore, a small family living on £2,000 per annum is not exactly in the same boat as a big family trying to exist on £250!! A very interesting statement was made by Sir E. Carson (C.U.). He foretold the ruin of England's credit should a capital levy be introduced. Owing to the fact of England's wealth it has extensive credit, and it has been possible to carry through "our finance on a scale that has been the admiration of the world." One should ask whether this great wealth has been of equal use at home; has the worker had conditions and provision worthy of an Empire boasting such credit and wealth? Those who know must reply in the negative; indeed honesty should compel them to say that England's wealth (the riches of the few) has been gathered at the expense of the masses who live in poverty.

SELECTION SUCCEEDS PROPERTY.

The Foreign Diplomatic Service has been hitherto the preserve of the propertied class, now the property qualification has been done away with, but candidates are to be subjected to a Selection Board. But will the smart boy get a chance even so?

HUMOUR!

May 22nd.—"It is the opinion of His Majesty's Government that neither handbooks for rebels nor grammars of anarchy are required," Mr. Samuel remarked in reference to the suppression of the 'Grammar of Anarchy' and the 'Handbooks for Rebels' in Ireland. Mr. MacVeagh pointed out that these books contain extracts from speeches delivered by members of the Cabinet! Did Mr. Samuel mean to admit by his statement that the Irish have nothing to learn from the Cabinet?

THE MUZZLE.

Mr. Bonar Law declared that it is quite impossible for the Government to consent to a discussion of the Peace Treaty! Then of what earthly use *is* the House of Commons?

"A SISTER NATION."

When anything is expected from a subject country, one always hears terms of endearment such as "the one bright spot," "a sister nation," &c. Mr. Montagu kept up the tradition on the discussion of the Indian Budget. But what does the Government want now from India, one may ask! Many things; but mainly the peaceful acceptance of the Rowlatt Act, which Mr. Montagu described as "no new outrage upon the liberty of the subjects of India"!! The Act has been explained in these columns in the issue of April 26th. It certainly does not speak well of past legislation, when this is *no new outrage*. The whole Government, then, is an outrage, according to the Secretary of State for India. Mr. Neil McLean (Lab.) moved the suspension of the operation of the Rowlatt Act until the House has expressed an opinion on it.

DOGS *VERSUS* MEN.

May 23rd.—An amendment to the Dogs' Protection Bill was passed after a division. It allows of experiments on dogs; but assures dog-lovers that additional precaution and further supervision will do much to protect dogs from pain. Sir F. Banbury (C.U.) excelled himself in putting the case for his dumb friends. There will be no real reform in this direction until sacrifice is not demanded from the "lower" animal, which man the "superior" is not prepared to offer.

M. O'C.

Representatives of various Russian political and industrial organisations in London met in Conference on April 12th and passed a resolution in the following terms:—

"That we emphatically protest against any form of intervention in the internal affairs of Russia by foreign Powers and those Russians who are in favour of foreign intervention in Russia are the enemies of the freedom of the Russian people. Believing that the internal affairs of a country are the concern of its own people, we enter a further protest against the attempt at dismemberment of Russia by the Allied Governments under the cover of safeguarding for the small nationalities within Russia their right of self-determination.

"We therefore appeal to the working class of this country to realise that the fight against the Russian Proletariat is in fact a fight against the interests of the British Proletariat as well, since the underlying cause of all intervention in Russia is the determination of the Capitalist class to destroy the beginnings of a world-wide movement for the emancipation of the working classes"

THE "RUSSIAN" COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.

The Russian Liberation Committee, a Counter-Revolutionary organisation, as though in opposition to the People's Russian Information Bureau at 152 Fleet Street, is sending out bulletins from 173. Much stress is laid in these bulletins on the Russian Volunteer Army of which it is said: "Now Russia has an army. She fights and she conquers. Her resurrection has been the work of the whole people. Only the spirit of the people has made the creation of the army possible." But how is this Russian army composed? The Italian Socialist paper, the *Avanti*, has recently published the following details of the troops which make up the "Russian" armies, at Archangel, and in Siberia with General Koltchak:—

SOLDIERS AT ARCHANGEL.

English	13,000
American	4,200
French	2,300
Italian	1,340
Serbs	1,200
Total foreign soldiers	22,040
Russian	11,700
Total Russian and foreign soldiers	33,740

IN SIBERIA WITH ADMIRAL KOLTCHAK.

Checko-Slovaks	55,000
Poles	10,000
Serbs	4,000
Rumanians	4,000
Italians	2,000
English	1,600
French	760
Japanese	28,000
American	7,500
Canadians	4,000
Total foreign troops	116,860
Russians (of various Tribes)	90,000
Total Russian and foreign soldiers	206,860

Thus in Archangel little more than a third of the soldiers are Russian and of Koltchak's much-vaunted Russian army less than half are Russians! Beside these, there are the British forces at Murmansk, the Finns marching towards Petrograd, the French who were obliged to withdraw from the Ukraine. And Russia has a population of 180,000,000!

RUSSIA.

Petrograd is said to be in imminent danger from the attacks of the Finns, British, and Russian Counter-Revolutionaries, and the Soviet régime to be nearing its overthrow; but such rumours have been current since November, 1917. Haase, the German Independent Socialist leader, made an interesting statement to the representative of an Agence Central representative, to whom he suggested that the Bolsheviki, menaced from the North, were retiring into the Ukraine. The Ukraine is the granuary of Russia, and the Allies, left in North Russia and surrounded by a hostile populace, might find their plight an unhappy one as winter advanced. But we still hope that the Soviets will maintain their power, gaining and not suffering even a temporary loss of territory. Haase declared Social Revolution to be inevitable in Poland.

THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET.

Hungary still maintains its Soviet and, contrary to capitalist predictions, is showing itself most successful even in the military field. This is no doubt largely due to Bolshevist sympathies in the Roumanian Army.

A counter-revolutionary Hungarian Government has been set up at Arad under the protection of French troops.

THE E.T.U.'s PROTEST AGAINST THE PEACE TERMS.

The Fulham branch of the E.T.U. urges all members of the Union to refrain from working on any peace decorations. We applaud their action, but wish it were more drastic!

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By F. P.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OR BUREAUCRATIC.

After many attempts to prophesy the contents of the Bill for the Nationalisation of Mines and Minerals, at last its provisions are made known.

The M.F.G.B. submitted the scheme to the Coal Industry Commission on Friday of last week. As was stated in THE DREADNOUGHT a few weeks ago, any scheme not emanating direct from the rank and file would be bureaucratic because control would be administered by the aid of regulations from the top and would not, therefore, be the wishes of the miners who alone have to work in the mines, and who alone are in a position to decide the best method of controlling the production of coal. This present scheme is not democratic, and as was anticipated, is contrary to the Soviet method. By this method the Central Mining Council decides the powers and functions of the District Councils, while both the District Councils and the Central Mining Council, will decide the functions of, and delegate powers to, the Pit Committees. This means that the District Councils will be bound and restricted by bureaucratic regulations imposed upon them by the Mining Council, the members of which are responsible to no one but themselves. As a result, the rank and file will have no method or power of dictating their wishes to the District Councils and having them conceded. And again, the Pit Committees, under this scheme, when they intend taking any action, will be snowed under by regulations imposed upon them both by the Central Mining Council and the District Committees, and if the rank and file are to be in a position to give expression at any time to their wishes, then the imposed regulations will have to be broken and scrapped.

If that will be the case, which is indeed very probable, what is the benefit in persisting to believe that industry can be worked from the top? Even under private ownership it is agreed the coal mines are worked from the bottom, and the chief objection by the coal owners to the Nationalisation of the Mines is that production will then be controlled from the top; from a bureaucratic centre and must spell misfortune to the coal trade.

But our objection is not merely limited to that phase of the question; it is that it restricts the power of the rank and file miners to control their own destinies from the bottom up, that is, from the Pit Committees to the Mining Council.

The intelligent section of the miners is not at all satisfied with this kind of scheme, for it believes that if the miners are to have a measure of control, the Pit Committee must be the unit of administration. By a rank and file ballot the District Committees would be appointed, and their powers and functions decided upon, and given them, by the rank and file. The Central Mining Council would again be appointed by the rank and file, either through the direct voice of the rank and file, or through the medium of their representatives upon the District Councils. In this way the powers and functions of all committees would be delegated to them by the voice of the rank and file, and all would be responsible for correct action, to the wishes of the rank and file.

Under the bureaucratic method it would be the rank and file that would be burdened by regulations, but under the democratic method, the rank and file would regulate the actions of the various committees, and so insure, always, that the rank and file decisions be final.

The miners are not sleeping on this question, and before very long a rank and file scheme of control of industry will be made known.

COMPENSATION FOR CAPITAL.

It is with amazement that one reads that the Miners' Scheme contemplates no compensation for Royalty owners, *but that the mineowners are to be compensated, in spite of the fact that sufficient evidence has been given before the Coal Commission to prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that coal-owners contribute nothing to the production of coal.* All the work they do is to pocket large dividends at the expense of the lives and limbs of the toiling miners.

The M.F.G.B. scheme is so much concerned to ensure that adequate compensation be given to the expropriated coalowners that the formation of a Purchases Commission is suggested. This Commission is to value the mining property and on that valuation State Mines Stock, bearing interest, will be given to *the expropriated coal-owners, who will live ever afterwards in wealth and luxury, while the miners will still go toiling on to supply the interest whereby the expropriated may go to Monte Carlo and talk of what fools the miners are.* And yet some say the M.F.G.B. scheme is revolutionary to the extreme!

Fancy the mineowners being allowed to appoint their representatives upon the Purchases Commission to decide what compensation they will receive!

The Governmental representatives in combination with the representatives of the coal-owners will be in a position to outvote the Miners' Representatives by two to one, so we can be sure that the mines will be adequately paid for. Surely the Coalowners have been compensated enough already, and it is surprising the miners have not vehemently protested against this monstrosity, but there is yet time for them to do so.

INCOME TAX.

At a Miners' Delegate Conference held at Cardiff on Monday, May 19th, it was moved "That having regard to the Government's refusal to adopt the £250 basis for Income Tax, that in future the Miners shall refrain from paying Income Tax as from April 5th." Opinion in Conference was divided on the advisability of this course, but all agreed on the main principle of objection to the payment of Income Tax, but many of the Delegates were of opinion that a more aggressive policy should have been adopted. A large body of opinion was evident that favoured a ballot of the miners as to the advisability of a down tools policy to enforce the abolition of Income Tax. It is hoped that other workers will follow suit, but it must be remembered that if any body of workmen intend to increase its standard of life by the abolition of taxes, it must be prepared to retain that standard by resisting reductions of wages when attempted, and also be prepared to fight for increases if food prices should tend to rise higher. Only if these conditions are strictly observed can the workers hope to gain any permanent and material advantages as a result of the abolition of Income Tax.

COMPENSATION.

At the same Conference the question of Compensation to injured workmen came up for discussion and a resolution favouring an increase of compensation by 100 per cent was defeated by another favouring compensation to be on the basis of pre-accident earnings. Some of the Delegates were of opinion that their demand to the employers should be that compensation be paid equivalent to the amount a man would have if he were working. That would be the fairest method, for on the pre-accident basis a labourer who had been injured for, say, six years, would now receive something like 25*s.* to 30*s.*—a miserable pittance, while if an injured labourer would receive what he was actually losing while at home injured, he would now receive approximately £3 10*s.* It is up to the rank and file not to leave the matter there, but to demand that an injured workman receive the amount of money he is actually losing through being injured, he should receive exactly what he would receive if he worked.

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LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

These are meetings of protest against intervention Russia.

FRIDAY, MAY 30th.

Cobden Statue (near Mornington Crescent Tube Station).—7. P.M., Mrs. Walker, J. G. Stone.

SATURDAY, MAY 31st.

Great Push against Conscription and for a People's Peace in Walthamstow.—Meetings at Pretoria Avenue (near St. James Street Station) at 3 P.M., and at Hoe Street at 7 P.M. Speakers: Miss Birch, Mrs. Walker, Harry Pollitt (7 P.M. only).

SUNDAY, JUNE 1st.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.

Dock Gates, Poplar.—7 P.M., Harry Pollitt. Chair: Mrs. Walker.

FRIDAY, JUNE 6th.

The Square, Woolwich.—12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JUNE 7th.

Great Push in Hammersmith.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, JUNE 2nd.

20, Railway Street.—7.30 P.M., Poplar W.S.F. Business Meeting.

20, Railway Street.—8.30 P.M., Poplar W.S.F Reading Circle.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

FRIDAYS, MAY 30th and JUNE 6th.

400, Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., East London Workers' Committee.

TUESDAY, JUNE 3rd.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—3 P.M., Mrs. Edmunds.

W.S.F. OUTING.

Members and friends should apply early to Miss Hebbes, 400 Old Ford Road, for tickets for the Outing to Dorset Hall, Merton, on Whit Monday, June 9th, price (including entrance and tea) 1*s.* 6*d.*, as we wish to know how many teas to provide. Those living in East London will leave Mile End District Railway Station between 10 and 10.30, return tickets 2*s.* each. Those from other districts are asked to join us at Charing Cross or Victoria Underground Stations, and book to Wimbledon.

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